/For specific information on the judicial role of the alcaldes, who frequently function as a justice of the peace, bailiff, or constable or sheriff, see also category 693./

631 the secretario, who is, without exception, a Ladino, for his responsibilities require a good knowledge of the Spanish language as well as office skills, which the Indians usually lack. Actually it is this official who controls all the administrative affairs of the municipio. He imposes fines, collects taxes, assigns communal work, and keeps in con-
[62] tact with the state authorities. After him rank the regidor, síndico, alcalde, police commander, and policemen.

621 Besides these authorities, which are the officially recognized ones, the Indians have their own government system, which in most places is still operating. Oxchuc is
[888] typical of the regional pattern. There the
[887] municipio is divided into two calpules, each of which is a kind of fraternity under the supervision of those old men having the
[776] greatest knowledge and prestige. Each cal-
[796] pul has also its own patron saint, venerated with special feasts and ceremonies throughout the year. (In Oxchuc the calpules are not geographically determined, and its members are spread in different parajes of
62 the territory.) Authority is now integrated in the following officials:

1 katinah, supreme chief of the whole calpul
1 okil kabil, "feet and hands" of the preceding, i.e., secretary
2 dzunubiles, supreme "pulsers" or "curers"
1 alcalde, who carries a staff of office
2 cornales (or governors), who also carry staffs of office
2 síndicos, who also carry staffs of office
4 x-tules (or regidores)

555 The four last jobs are reached by strict
624 hierarchy and indicate the progress of each
794 individual in the fulfillment of his social duties. This social-service career begins when the man is not yet married, when he is assigned the cargo of mayordomo of the church, which means that he has to attend to minor affairs connected with the church and to keep it clean. Shortly after his marriage he usually reaches the position of capitán, where he is responsible for the fies-

[P. 220 - A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

555 ta for minor saints. He alternates between
624 a period of activity and expense and one of
794 quiet and economic recovery. The cargos alternate between church positions and civil government positions, but in communities where Indian tradition is stressed, there is no clear-cut division between civil and religious matters, because of the influence of the sacred and supernatural in daily life.

554 Those functionaries who have a staff of
624 office wield great influence in their calpul.
293 This cane (*nabté*), a sign of important status, is made of pine or other fine wood, and has a silver handle adorned with colored ribbons, primarily yellow, green, and red. The staff is ornamented by the owner and is considered a family object, usually placed
[718] on the home altar. Occasionally it is the
[782] object of prayers and offerings of incense. People carrying it are called *bastonudos*.

624 It is the duty of the staff-carriers to com-
627 municate to every paraje the orders of the ayuntamiento and those coming from the supreme chief of the calpul; to summon people for communal duties; to apprehend prisoners in cases of crime; and to deal with public problems such as taxation and epidemics. Coping with transgressions such as minor stealing, adultery, disputes, and intrigues are also their responsibility within the paraje, following the traditional form of procuring mutual understanding on both sides, in a calm atmosphere, around a bottle
[692] of liquor. If conflict persists, those involved appear before chiefs of the calpul, who are called principales or "cabildos de justicia" even after they have finished their term of office.

794 The cargos from dzunubil on up are sacred and are open only to people with superior knowledge, recognized moral status, and expert experience in church ritual and in the semi-pagan ceremonies practiced in the caves, waterholes, and special mountains. These cargos are thus obtained not by automatic advancement but by special merits which are usually not acquired until advanced age. All such high representatives of

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

323 She formed the base of her pot rapidly in a saucer-like clay form, *hutstahibe* ("rest"). When the bottom was finished, she took it out and laid it on a broad leaf. The work progressed surprisingly quickly and without pause, the potter's hands moving with great speed and precision; the slapping sound as she patted the clay into position was unceasing. The clay was put on in slabs and built upwards, contrary to the coiling technique of the Southwest, the bowl on its leaf being turned rapidly as she worked around the sides. The finishing was done with her hands. The completed bowl was symmetrical, but not very smooth. It was then set in the sun to dry (fig. 298).

291
342
624

FIG. 297—Sivacá, Chia. The men of the town with the Alcalde on the left.

323 The larger forms are started in a flat, gourd dish, and the *tsets* bowls (see below) in an ordinary drinking gourd. Large tubs, when drying, are protected by leaves covering the rim, and are placed on leaves in the gourd dishes used as forms. The leaves are to prevent their drying too quickly and cracking. When cracks do occur, they are filled in with fresh clay. After enough pots are ready, there is a baking, apparently a community affair. I was told that the pottery was ranged in a line, the pine-fuel being laid up in an A-roof over it, forming a long tunnel, through which the draft ensures a brisk fire. One would expect from such a process that the vessels would be much blackened from contact with the fuel, which was not the case in the new ones that I examined, all having an even

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Bachajón
Sivacá

621 Bachajon and Sivacá are governed through native officials selected from among the men of repute in the tribe by the Mexican Government, more or less in accordance with the Indians' wishes. They serve for definite terms, usually two years, and may be reappointed. Bachajon Village, organized when the whole tribe was concentrated there, has two complete administrations, each with a • 624 president, council, and secretary. At Sivacá the only official is the *alcalde*, who carries as insignia a staff, *barra*, 1.50 meters long, decorated with a double cross in black at the head. The secretaries [212] are chosen primarily for literacy; the others are older men of influence in the tribe. The great respect with which they are treated by the natives indicates that the selections accord fairly well with those they would make themselves.

648 Each group is in the charge of a resident Mexican official called
651 the *Maestro*, corresponding to our Reservation Agent. He is appointed by the Presidente Municipal of the local government. He is paid with taxes collected by himself from the Indians in produce or money, to which he adds commissions obtained from his services as a labour agent, the profits of trade in a few staples, and receipts from travelers, for whom his house is the official guest-house.

648 Ordinarily the *Maestro* does not give his orders directly to the
622 Indians, but works through the native president, who may openly
621 oppose him if he see fit, though he is in some degree bound to obey. The influence and power of the *Maestro* depends upon the individual, and on the temper of the Indians under him. In extreme cases he will send for troops, a measure greatly dreaded, as the soldiers, once arrived, may stay indefinitely, helping themselves freely to the pigs and chickens of the natives, and generally making themselves objectionable.

648 In addition to those appointed by the Government, the Indians
622 accord obedience and respect to a considerable body of purely
624 native officials. The only ones fulfilling a civic function are the class known as *Principales*, who exist chiefly among the Bachajon. They are men who know how to read and write Spanish, living in places more available to the outlying Indians than the Secretaries at Bachajon Village, and are usually men in whom confidence is reposed. Although they hold their position without official selection, but by general consent, they are recognized by the Mexicans with whom they deal as holding a sort of power of attorney for their people. They examine and sign written documents, and compose communications from the Indians to the Government. Through this they gain an influence with which, if they be men of force, they may become leaders of real power in their own districts. A *Principale* whom we met at El Encanto, where he had come in to buy salt, was

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

the informal chief of one of the semi-separated, turbulent groups already described. He was a well-built, square-faced, sullen yet cunning looking fellow, with a long scar from a machete cut across one cheek, and credited with a number of murders.

The shamans or medicine-men, *pocŏ'*, although primarily doctors, have a quasi-priestly status, the result of the intimate relation of prayer and healing, of which more will be said later. They are honored accordingly as holy men, as well as for the power conferred by their knowledge of medicine and charms. A shaman obtains his position by some years of study under another, who teaches him both medicines and prayers. His repute largely depends upon the results of his practice.

Certain older men are selected annually to have charge of the fiestas, or saint's day celebrations; they have charge of all preparations and of the conduct of the fiesta, as well as being usually responsible for the care of the various sacred properties during the year. These officers exist in the hacienda groups as well as in the tribes. At the Finca Tecojá, where a fiesta was observed in progress, they were an amiable pair of rather drunken old men, known as *Caporales,* and at most places, in common with other officers holding posts of Spanish derivation, they were known by Spanish names. Interestingly enough, in the villages with the Governmental organization described above, they rarely coincide with the Government appointees, although this may be partly due to the fact that they are usually selected from among the oldest men. In Guatemala these semi-church officers often are a mask for tribal positions of real power, as was found to be the case with the *tcimañ* of Jacaltenango, who will be described in writing of that place (Chapter XIX). Here their influence and prestige was relatively slight, save during the period when their duties placed them in charge.

Almost the only trace of pre-Conquest feeling is to be found in the great reverence shown towards all shamans and Government appointees. An ordinary Indian will offer food, drink, or tobacco to all men of authority present before taking anything himself, even though it means the consumption, for instance, of almost all of a bottle of *aguardiente* before he gets any at all. We saw a chief at Tenango, where the same system prevails, take a lighted cigar from an Indian's mouth, giving him instead some unrolled tobacco leaves. When first coming into the presence of such men, or passing them on the road, an Indian will take off his hat, bowing deeply; the chief or shaman touches the Indian's forehead, and he goes on. This is performed with grace and dignity. It is known as *k'ol-tanup,* "head giving" (*k'ol* from *hol,* head). Instances were observed of thus

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

We had a better chance here than anywhere else to look over the village government. It being Sunday, all were present, the *Presidente Municipal*, the *Secretario*, and council of *Regidores*, elderly men, grave of mien, with small, black goatees. The ordinary villagers treated them with the greatest respect. Each official carried a silver-headed cane with a red ribbon tied to it and the name of his office inscribed on the head. They are appointed to their offices by the government with the ratification of the village. The Maestro works entirely through them, and their orders are absolutely obeyed. Indeed, owing to the independent nature of the Tenangeros, the Maestro is rather like the ambassador of a powerful foreign nation persuading the local government, through tact and very gentle pressure, to behave.

We finished our survey about noon, the Indians appearing unwilling to have us enter their houses. For the rest of that day we spent our time working up our notes into good shape, then teaching the gift chickens to do tricks until Lazaro claimed them for the pot, and in dodging the local officials who, having got themselves slightly tipsy in honour of the Sabbath, came importuning us to give them cigarettes, of which we ourselves were short.

Both that night and the night before, traveling traders built their little pine fires on the mud verandah of the Cabildo. In one case it was a Mexican and an Indian, in the other two Mexicans, to be distinguished from Indians only by the cut of their trousers and a donkey. They travelled with their big packs on a tump-line, long staff in hand, for all the world like a living re-incarnation of the traders shown in the pre-Columbian drawings of the codices (fig. 320). In old times they traded parrots, macaws, obsidian, textiles, jade, and later, gold and copper. Now it is a business of cheap watches, gaudy cloths, and ten-cent jewelry, bringing Connecticut, Hamburg, and Orizaba down to a fiesta in Bachajon village, following the old trade-route along which we were going, in the other direction, to San Cristóbal. Very few of the present Indian tribes

FIG. 320—Travelling Aztec Merchant. Drawing after the Codex Laud.

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

608 members of the me?iltatil along with relatives and sometimes neighbors. 571 They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the me?iltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his me?iltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his me?iltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

• 624 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called 561 the me?iltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the me?iltatil of the household and the me?iltatil of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *nakawanehetik*. 571 These men are chosen from among bilaterally related 621 relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in 602 the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct cere- 794 monies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when 608 the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he [574] must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker greeting guests.

621 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years 756 in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged 561 with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as me?iltatil.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
Have the responsibility of publishing the laws and edicts of the government. Announce to the townspeople the days for electoral meetings.		
Regidores: †	Sit on the benches inside the town hall. If there is no judge, regidores order police. Arrange dispute cases with the president and judges.	Bring in officials nominated by the civil authority. Greet them in their houses with the pat?o?tan. Transmit orders of the president to the policemen. Pour liquor in the town hall for the other civil officials. Sit in on court cases.
Police: Care for the streets, markets, and public plazas, hospitals and other public places. Inspect the quality of foods of all kinds in the interest of the public and the sellers. Care for the drainage of swampy places and free standing and unhealthy waters. Name a permanent commission charged with maintaining the health of the place. Ensure that the public fountains are well kept up and have abundant water. Ensure the punctual attendance of the children in school. See that the equipment distributed by the army is done with equality. Help the alcaldes tend to the execution of the laws, rulings, and agreements of the civil officials.	Sit on the benches, outside the town hall. Summon children absent from school. Maintain public buildings and streets. Distribute portions of bull slaughtered for a fiesta to those who have paid 20 pesos.	Maintain town hall, plaza, road from highway to town. Adorn town hall for fiestas. Cook common meal for civil officials following court cases when fines have been collected. Collect money for fiestas from each household. Buy liquor for use in town hall. Round up truant school children. Bring in criminals.

(*cont.*)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

642
• 624

Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 •	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
Secretary:		
In each civil administration they should have a secretary who will earn an annual salary of 144 pesos.	If there is a major task for the pueblo, the secretary does it.	Writes all official documents. Attends president and síndico in most official trips out of town.
To attend the office on non-holidays.	Call the secretary to write the act.	Writes official documents such as birth and marriage certificates.
To be present all the time that the sessions last.	Arrange things if there is a homicide.	
To take notes in order to draw up acts and minutes.	Take a culprit to San Cristóbal if there is no settlement in court.	
To set in a book the acts after approved and signed by all the individuals of the civil administration that are persent at each session.		
To pass on to the respective commissions the affairs with which the civil authority gives accounts, setting down the understanding in the corresponding book, and taking care to note in the margin when it is undertaken.		
To give account of all the negotiations that occur in the following order: (1) the acts of the former meeting, (2) the official communications that they receive, (3) the proposals that the members of the civil authority make, (4) the representatives that say the particulars, (5) the dictations of the commission.		
To sign in union with the president all the official communications, arranging them in order to form them in the points agreed to by the civil authority.		
To put in the best possible		

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 •	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*

arrangement and with an exact inventory all the books, acts, and papers of the archive, not permitting that anyone take them without express permission of the municipality and leaving the corresponding understanding in order to know where it was stopped and to take it up in the appropriate time.

To present each month a list of the affairs that have passed in the commissions, of those that have been dispatched and those that are hanging.

To pass each month to the municipal president a list of the individuals who had failed to meet in the sessions without legitimate cause in order that they can exact the fine corresponding, arranging for that in the acts.

To meet in the extraordinary sessions when called by the president.

When the secretaries fail in some of their obligations, mentioned in the former articles, they can be fined by the civil authority 2 to 10 pesos without prejudice from the remaining punishments to which they make credits.

As to the election and replacement of the secretaries they will be covered in article 162 of the law of the 20th of March, 1837.

• Translation and paraphrasing of Constitution of Chiapas, 1825.
† Not given in this constitution, perhaps because of the ceremonial nature of the post.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The informant failed to mention the following actions which I observed:

1. In raising the figure of Christ on the cross, the four regidores, in this context called *apultol* (probably from apostles), entered the church. Two of them stood at the head of the cross to receive the image raised from below by the other two.

2. The image was always handled with cloths so that no one's hand would be in contact with the surface.

3. The priest, standing behind a cloth screen, guided the figure up on the cross.

4. The priest gave a sermon about the significance of Easter and the life and death of Christ. He spoke of the crime of the Jews in killing Christ.[6]

In comparing the elicited and observed accounts, one can see clearly the censoring of the priest's role in the perception of the people. Even while the ceremony is in process, they ignore his appeals. For example, as the body of Christ was lowered from the cross, the priest exhorted the congregation to cry and give vent freely to their emotions in this most holy moment. There was no response from the audience, even after he waited several moments, pleading with them again not to feel embarrassment at their show of emotion, and becoming visibly annoyed at their impassivity. Finally, a woman dressed in Ladina clothing, rewarded him with the stylized wail of mourning.

Observation of the ceremony reveals evidence of attitude and belief coded in the staging, the costuming, the postures and gestures of respect or derision which cannot be elicited. Each element is an interpretative comment by those who direct and act the play. We are told that the Jew is the anti-Christ, but we learn that he is also a Ladino through his clothing, the cigarette, and the horseback ride. The Indians do not state that they castrate him in hoisting him upon the church, but their comments and ac-

6. Despite the fact that the Vatican had exonerated the Jews of the guilt for the murder of Christ the year before (1965), the priest spoke of the crime of the Jews. This time lag in communicating doctrine to the hinterlands would be an interesting problem to investigate.

.7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

In the strategy of incorporating new leadership, these tactics are employed.

1. The four regidores are assigned the task of bringing the novice scribe to the town authorities. They are the official recruiters for civil and religious office.

2. The request is made to the parent of the appointed scribe in the formal speech of the pat?o?tan. The appeal is cast in terms of the sacred nature of the task with reference to the "holy" nature of the post to be undertaken on this "holy hour, holy day and holy year."

3. The contractual relationship is initiated as always with a drinking session. The scribe is introduced into the drinking order as fourth in rank. The officials show solicitude as he is taught to drink "the gift of the gods and the ancestors." Once the gift of liquor has been accepted, the recipient has no recourse except to fulfill the obligation.

These tactics, used also in other contractual arrangements, were inadequate to the task of inducting foreign Indians living in the township into the traditional hierarchy. In 1929, a Huistecan Indian, Augustín, who had worked as a laborer in a finca within the township, became president. Although he could not read, he was able to speak Spanish fluently. He succeeded in getting the first ejido grant under the land reform act of 1927.

During his term of office, Augustín was accused of abusing his authority on several occasions, as the following account shows:

When I was very young, my father told me about this land case. Augustín was president then. He tried to get land from my uncle's father-in-law, Juan. My uncle, Bartolo, defended his father-in-law's right to the land because he had good friends in Tuxtla. Augustín spoke Spanish very well, but he did not know how to read. Since my uncle knew how to read well, he gained the case. Augustín was angry. He invited all the curers to the town hall and ordered the police to bring in my uncle. My uncle was given something in a cup of liquor, and in three days he died.

Even if this story is untrue, or distorted because of the family relationship of the narrator and the victim, it reveals the sense of being exploited

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Eight men of Alannantik wanted the interim president, Simón to remain as president. But the people of Ahk'olnantik did not want him to remain as president. The townspeople began to talk, saying, "Why should he remain as president since he stole twenty bulls? We don't want him. Let us get another president. We shall walk with Ceferino."

They wanted me for president since I was first regidor. It is for this reason that I entered as president, but I didn't think that I would be able to stay on as president. Simón received an order from the [state] government that he should return as president. He came with soldiers, and when they took me out of office, the lieutenant said to Simón, "Now you enter."

And so I gave over the archives and seals and everything in the presidency to Simón, and I left the presidency. And the people saw that it was the order of the government, and they did not say anything. The town remained silent.

The incident is given as it was related to me in Tzeltal. I have sorted out the steps in which the conflict developed in order to clarify its meaning.

1. The traditional checks and balance system of the civil authority over the curers was initially upset by the entry of a leading curer into the post of president.
2. When he committed a murder while in office, the judges seized control and had him put in prison.
3. His replacement by the síndico who was from the same side of the dual division, aroused the opposition of the people of the opposite side, Ahk'olmantik, who believed that the epidemic, which followed the president's removal from power, was caused by the curers of Alannantik under the direction of the president who was in jail.
4. The leaders of the revolt in Ahk'olnantik chose as their replacement the first regidor, Ceferino, who was from their side.
5. Leaders from Alannantik rejected this replacement and were able to get official backing from the state government to replace their representative.

The process illustrates the way in which a conflict, precipitated by a clash between civil authorities and the curers, was cast into the idiom of struc-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

554 the status. Community integration is achieved at the expense of limiting the range of roles through restricted recruitment and validating mechanisms.

621 794 [182] *Alternation and linkage in office-holding.* The principle of alternation between civil and religious posts serves to integrate these officers in a single functioning system and prevents the development of segmented groups. The alternation of offices between sides of the dual divisions helps to integrate the village by pairing or alternating them in the same office. Some roles served as links between the institutional domaines. Principales are the primary symbolic leaders of both hierarchies since they are chosen from among men who have completed service in both hierarchies. The alfereces formerly symbolized the unity of the civil and religious branches in the transfer of banners from the cabildo to the church and in other ceremonial duties.

62, 624 794 [692] [184] The regidores and judges have remained identified with the civil authority in Tzo'ontahal, although in other towns in the area they have become almost exclusively identified with the religious hierarchy (Cancian 1965). The regidores were formerly involved in religious affairs during the household celebration for the installation of the new alférez. At this time they were called personaetik from the Spanish term persona, or personage.

731 756 178 621 Events requiring community action reveal some of the links which unite officials who play roles in different institutional settings. On the occasion of an epidemic, curers are called before the civil authority to "give an account" of who is causing the witchcraft. Formerly the curers were linked to the civil hierarchy by a system of social control in which the principales, as elders, reviewed their actions in guarding the safety and health of the community. This system of checks and balance has been broken by the shift in power from the principales to the president.

794 621 182 The nakawanehetik provide the links between the household and the civil and religious hierarchies. They transmit the knowledge of ritual prayer and acts and officiate at the inauguration of officials. They serve as stage directors in maintaining the traditional household rituals and in ensuring continuity in public ceremonials.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

621
627 Many cases of adultery never go outside the fences of the sitio, and many witchcraft cases come to the Ayuntamiento only after a murder has been committed in "revenge," in which case the Ayuntamiento is only called in to re-establish order and calm down the relatives of the deceased, trying to avoid further revenge and bloodshed.

794
796 The Mayordomos, on the other hand, have no control over the household Saints which are "owned" by each family and kept in the house in a special altar, nor do they relate directly, within the Church organization, to the many supernatural beings which populate the belief system of the villagers. The "owners of the hills," spirits which inhabit the caves, rivers and wells, the mythological creatures such as the Sombrerón (frightening ghost which appears to tempt people in isolated spots) or Juan Lopez (the local culture hero), and the evil and powerful souls of witches
794 are in a separate domain. These can be controlled only by the
624 curanderos, who have powerful souls, or by the principales. This
774 last group (principales) is also "in charge" of taking care of
776 the health of the village, and do so by having their own souls patrol the boundaries of the community at night and by forbidding entrance to sickness and plagues. The men capable of such supernatural performances "own" animal spirits (nahuales) which help them in their task. Mayordomos, on the contrary, can be men without such powers, and do not need to belong to the select group which deals with the supernatural outside the realms specified by the Catholic Church.

000 The communal offices of the Ayuntamiento and Mayordomías

62
887 after for advice in many different events, such as helping to
888 decide the divisions of an inheritance among brothers, giving ad-
[154] vice to a drunkard husband, etc. They also have important polit-
ical functions: they are called in by the Ayuntamiento to help solve the difficult witchcraft cases, and they have to approve the nominations of officers before they are presented to the community as candidates.

621
554 In selecting new officers, age, marital status, seniority rights and previous experience are considered important. The higher a position in the hierarchy, the more respected it is and the more authority and responsibility it carries. While the lower
[555] positions can be filled by any man, the higher ones require certain personal skills that not everybody possesses, so it becomes more
• [624] difficult to find the right man for the job. Some men fail in commanding the respect of their fellow citizens (because they drink, or they fight with their neighbors, or similar breaches of behavior for which they are not selected for cargo), or they become senile, or die before they become pasados, so not every man arrives at the ideal and most reputable role of Principal, which is the top role a man can achieve at the community level.

621
624
554 To be a principal a man has to be able to get along with his kinsmen and neighbors, he should not be suspected of witchcraft, he should be able to deal with outsiders to the community avoiding conflict with them, he should be fast in judging the behavior of others and solving problems, and his word has to be precise and carry the necessary weight to convince others that his opinions are sound (un hombre que "sabe hablar"). Moreover, he can more easily

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

621 Moreover, he can more easily [54]
624 fulfill these requisites if he had been able in his lifetime to
554 become the jural head of a large and united extended family, be-
596 cause, given the fact that he should be able to control the opinions and actions of many villagers, it is his personal power with other individuals which supports his position as principal, and not the reverse.

621 Town officials, although they are selected by the previous
[623] officers and approved by the principales, have to be ratified in their positions by all the household heads in a public meeting. The different qualifications of some men for the higher posts creates some disparity in the number of cargos held by a particular individual, but the differences are never enough to say that political power is differentially distributed. The following table and figure show the distribution of officerships by age group, in a random sample of married men in Aguacatenango, and it confirms the idea that the villagers themselves have about their access to political officership: any normal, married man with more than one child is capable of achieving, in a hierarchical order, several political posts.[1]

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[184] [1]This system is in contrast with other villages in the area. In the very large communities with paraje type settlements (a nucleated village which functions as a ceremonial and political center surrounded by dispersed hamlets) such as Tenejapa or Zinacantan, although the number of offices is tremendously increased, the population is so large that only a few men from each paraje pass the cargos, and the ideal of every man participating in the hierarchy of power is never attained. In those cases, only the richer obtain office, and the "democratic" aspects of the system are less noticeable. It could be that an egalitarian political organization can only be maintained when the population size is limited, and that a large social group with a centralized organization "needs" differential power distribution, or, rather, cannot avoid the differential distribution of political power among the population groups.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

121 613 manipulations for political purposes; and (3) their restricted functions.

174 613 Why is the patriline this weak? There are reasons of an historical nature, as well as functional reasons. First, with the centralization of political power created by the Spanish colony, in which each household head, independently of lineage affiliation, became a tributario (tax payer) and had rights of participation in the political structure, the political functions or the lineage 613 became debilitated. At the present time, it is only through the 624 principales that the patriline as a unit has political representation. The principales are usually the elders of the largest patrilines in the community. To make decisions, they have to have the backing of the men they represent. Belonging to a larger line indicates that a man is capable of controlling a larger number of household heads and, therefore, has stronger political support. That being the head of a large patriline gives a man authority in village affairs is shown not only by the fact that principales are thus supported, but also by the fact that patriline elders, even if they are not officially principales, on occasions can act as such, and they are sought after for advice in making Ayuntamiento decisions, by their own people and by other villagers.

174 423 613 Second, with the relocation of the lineages at the time that the village was reducido, and the control of the lands by the Encomienda and the Spanish crown and later by the fincas, some of the lineage control over its lands was lost. It is possible, however, that before the agrarian reform, when the village lands were scarcer, the land holding rights of the patriline were more precisely stated.

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

MY ELICITING PROCEDURES are described to make explicit the steps in constructing the informant's cognitive model. The first responses given by an informant are most often those which have the greatest significance within a structured system of priorities or of dominance. For example, informants in Tzo?ontahal invariably listed the officials in order of primacy. Another clue to the structuring of social relations is the omission of data in the first interview. This can mean either repression of information or lack of significance for the informant as an individual or for the society. These factors can be sorted out in subsequent interviews.

When asked, "What are all the kinds of offices in Tzo?ontahal," informants replied, "offices in the *kabiltu*, or townhall, and offices in the *č'ulna*, holy house or church. The question, "What are the kinds of officials in the townhall?" elicited the following three categories: *alkaletik*, alcaldes or judges; *rehiroletik*, regidores; and *mayoletik*, mayores or policemen. These categories are ranked relative to each other; for example, *alkaletik* is of greater prestige (*mas mamalil*, senior), *rehiroletik* next, and *mayoletik* least. Thus there are in the *alkaletik* category: *primero alkal*, first judge; *sčebal alkal*, second judge; *čeb suplente alkal*, two assistant judges. In the *rehiroletik* category there are: *primero rehirol*, first regidor; *sčebal rehirol*, second regidor; *yošebal rehirol*, third regidor; *čanebal rehirol*, fourth regidor. In the *mayoletik* category there are: *primero mayol*, first policeman; *sčebal mayol*, second policeman; *yošebal mayol*, third policeman; *sčanebal mayol*, fourth policeman; and *spoil mayol*, last policeman.

Cutting across this ranked hierarchy of officials are two geographical divisions; these align officials according to the side of the dual division in which they reside and which they represent. There is one judge from the upper division, *ahk'olnantik*, and one from the lower division, *alannantik*. The first judge is chosen in alternate years from one or the other of the two divisions, and so on for each rank of judges and regidores. There are two sets of five police, one from each side of the dual division serving in alternating weeks. The two assistant judges are chosen from the barrios Magronal and Bočibal. They never attain the first two positions. In addition to this regular ladder

[P. 213-A]

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?"

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out.

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below.

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre-

[P 213-B]

men whom the lay sisters assisting the priest have organized to help carry out the Mass and other church rituals.

Another pair of officials, the *krinsipaletik* or principales, were not mentioned in the category "officials in the townhall" or in that of "officials in the church," until I questioned, "Who names the officials?" The response was, "Principales with the president." In order to arrive at the higher honorific posts of principal, one must serve five times in the civil and six times in the religious posts in the traditional hierarchy. The principales provide continuity in the transfer of authority, remaining in the townhall when the old officials depart to their homes, and passing over the staffs to the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28, 31). It is a position without power in the day-to-day administration of affairs. Although the incumbents occupy prestigeful positions and carry out ceremonial acts, many men avoid the office because of the loss of status in carrying out one of their most important acts, the collection of contributions for the major fiestas. The two principales must hold the plate into which the money is turned over by the police, and this causes "embarrassment." Formerly they were also bankers, holding the money until it was spent. This responsibility gave prestige to the act of receiving the money, now redefined as a sort of begging operation.

A ceremonial link between the civil and religious wings is the group of officers known as the *alperesetik*, alfereces. They are associated with the four major saints, who are also represented by the *kobrarias* of Sacramento, Santa Lucia, San Pedro Martyr, and San Francisco. Their rank order is determined not by the importance of the saint but by the order of entry into office. These are named: *tat pasaro*, the past "father"; *ʔil pasaro*, remains past; *stebal pasaro*, second past; and *ʔal alperes*, new alferez. They sit, move, and are served in this order wherever they appear. Although tied to a *ʔulsat*, spirit father or saint, they function in the townhall in bearing the banners there from the church for civil affairs (App. 1, Q. 27), and they provide the post which is crucial for learning the set speeches useful in all formal occasions, called the *patʔotan*, 'behind the heart.' Because of the crucial nature of this speechmaking, no man can progress into the post of first or second regidor without having passed through that of alferez. This post is the most difficult to fill because of the high outlay (3000 pesos in one year of average expenditures, about half the

[P. 214-B]

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts.

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios.

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career.

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nič'anil ǩuč ha?*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *?ali?bal*, the assistant to the *ǩobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta

[P. 215-A)

reces have delivered from the church. The presence of the alfereces with their banners proclaims the link between civil and religious office. 621* 794 182

The principales, now fairly inebriated after their long wait for the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs, assisted by the old president who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the new officials. The intoxicated state of the principales is never mentioned in elicited statements. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. As the only "permanent" 621* 624 [273]

621* 554 693

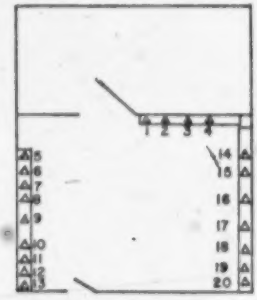

CHART 5 — MORNING, HOUSE OF PRESIDENT, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS (all men):

1 Nakawane
2 President
3, 4 Nakawane
5 First judge
6 Second judge
7 Síndico
8, 9 Assistant judges
10 First regidor
11 Second regidor
12 Third regidor
13 Fourth regidor
14-20 *Balnialetik*

incumbents—permanent so long as they are alive, healthy, and not impoverished—they are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials. When all the old officials have retired to their homes following the ceremony, and the new officials have gone on to the church, the principales wait in the townhall for the new officials to return for the afternoon drinking session in which they will join, as they had done in the morning with the old officials. 621* 624 [273]

Wearing their rosaries, the new officials follow the alfereces out of the townhall in a procession. Holding the holy banners, the alfereces line up before the townhall, dip their banners, and proceed to the 621* 794 788

[P. 217-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

Q. 68) is a review of the major activities in which they will take part in the church. The phrase 'before the face of,' *ta sit*, is the orientation he indicates to the new mayordomos to perform these acts.

The ceremony in the church when the mayordomos receive their candles is limited to the few words of advice spoken to them by the fiscal and the passing over of the candles. There is no representation by the civil authorities in the ceremonial aspect of installation, although the fiscal, in his dual office as assistant to the priest and as president, indirectly takes this role. The alfereces, who provide the link on other occasions for the civil officers' inauguration, are not active during this changing of the religious officers. Following the ceremony inside the church, the town treasurer and síndico help the fiscal count the money passed over with each *kobraria*. Thus the "integration" of the hierarchy is asymmetrical, providing for a church representation in civil affairs, but only in a limited sense is there the reverse.

The mayordomos return to the house of the *kobraria* Sakramentu. The *nakawanehetik* have lost their place of honor at the *hol wanku*, 'head of the bench,' and are sleeping under the bench or in the corner. Their presence is no longer socially marked, and it is not a point which was elicited.

The behavior during the inauguration of civil officials showed the following structural features. The hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth stepladder but a segmented order. The categories elicited in the first session with the informant—*alkaletik*, *rehiroletik*, and *mayoletik*—act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same areas in all the settings (App. 1, Q. 14, 15, 51, 64–74). Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They order their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge issues an order to the fourth regidor to get liquor (App. 1, Q. 55) and the first police orders the commissioner from the rural colonias to get liquor for their group (App. 1, Q. 79). In these behavioral indices one can see the segmentation of the civil hierarchy, ordered by age, skill acquired in the expensive office of alferez, and territorial identification. Age grading is absolute only between the segments, and is roughly applicable within each segment.

In the inauguration of the religious officials, elder and younger officials associated with each saint act

[P 219-A] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220A

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

The degree of integration of the civil and religious wings of the hierarchy can be described behaviorally. The following acts (App. 1) indicate this structural feature. 621* 794 182

Q. 24. The civil officials kneel and "measure their noses" as they enter the townhall in deference to the banners. [788]

Q. 27. Sacred objects, such as the holy banners of the *kobrarias*, are present on the table in the townhall as the officers take the oath of office. Officials carry rosaries as they accept oath and wear them in the procession to the church. [778]

Q. 28. The alfereces are present in the townhall to witness the ceremony. As bearers of the four major saints of the town, their role is primarily defined in a religious context.

Q. 41. Officials go to the church immediately following their procession in the plaza to pray for health to carry out their responsibilities. [782]

Q. 48. The religious officials are present in church on New Year's day to witness the arrival of new officials of the civil wing.

The alfereces link the two wings of the hierarchy in the following acts: 794 182

Q. 36. They carry the sacred banners to the townhall on the day of the inauguration.

Chart 9. They lead the parade of new officials of the civil wing.

Q. 28. They witness ("look at") the inauguration of the civil officials in the townhall.

Q. 36. In emerging from the townhall, they bow and incline their banners first before the townhall, then before the church. [788]

In the inauguration of the religious officials the only act uniting officials of the two wings of the hierarchies is that of counting the money (App. 2, Q. 90) when the town treasurer and síndico assist the church officials. The integration of the civil and religious wings in Tzo?ontahal is asymmetrical. The church officials as a group are involved in the civil inauguration, but the civil officials are only peripherally involved in the religious inauguration. 621* 794 182 [624]

Another behavioral basis for stating the dimensions of the civil and religious integration is found in the replication of symbols and acts in each inauguration. In taking the oath, the term *yič huramentu* is used in both settings. The staff as symbol of civil office has its counterpart in the candles handed over to the mayordomos. In both ceremonies, officials of the townhall and of the church wear red kerchiefs and carry rosaries when receiving the oath of office. 621* 794 182 782 788 [641] [292] [293]

Replication of behavior in both civil and religious 000

Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration.

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle

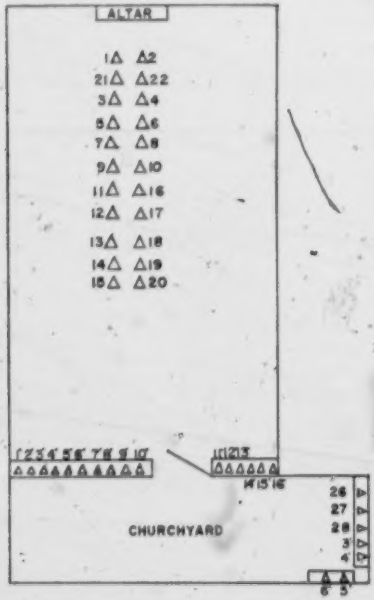

CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos

Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials.

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *?ali?bal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story:

[P. 223-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be seen in the presence of both old and new officials in the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity are the principales, who await the arrival of the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28) who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q. 31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the return of the new officials, when they have gone to church.

2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 30) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment.

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made

[P. 227-8]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

Appendix 1 — Change of Officials in the Townhall

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*62 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?aẍ ha?bil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*ẍermanotaẍ*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*62 124 796	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
514	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[272] [242]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[273]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*62 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*stasal nakawane*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balnial*, assistants to pass gruel, sons of the new officials *?aẍ si?etik:* wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[624]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX I—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*62 124 796 624	13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
	14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
*62 124 796 693	15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alannantik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
[292]	16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor (*paſ?ot'an yič smahtanil*) with the first *nakawane*. His godchild *ahijado shalal nupune*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law Lucian Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
[292] [576]	17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, the *spat lok'yo?t'an*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
*62 124 796 693 576	18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *spat yo?t'an* with the first nakawane	The first regider gives the *paſ?ot'an*	First judge speaks with *me?il k'op* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanchetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
[538] [539]	19. How do they give the *spat yo?t'anik* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart no illness I hear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX I—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
				and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
[539]	33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
#621 124 796	34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—5 chairs in bad estate, 2 *codigo viejo*, etc.
	35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
#621 124 794 796 [533] [788]	36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alfereces go out with their banners	The alfereces go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alfereces. Flute and drum began as alfereces came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out, knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then síndico and judges
#621 124 796 788	37. What time did the procession begin?			1:05
	38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
	39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to plaza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *nakawane* redirected them)
	40. What did the alfereces do?			At door of the townhall, drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
	41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
#621 124 796	42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
[624] [782] [794]	43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alfereces leave their banners in the church

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo°ontahal

794	81. What do they do?		They drink
796	82. What time do they leave his house?		Prayer time *(oración)*
124			
[293]	83. Where do they go?		To their house
	84. What do they do first on *sk'ahk'alel?*		Go to hear Mass
	85. Who is in the church to hear Mass?		All the new mayordomos, the women, the prayer leaders
	86. What time is the Mass?		At 7 o'clock
	87. What do they do when they come out of Mass?		Go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
	88. How many go?		Thirteen
	89. What do the rest do?		Three juniors *(nil'onil)* remain play drum at door of church
	90. What do they do at the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?		Count the money of the Virgin and San Pedro Martyr
[426]	91. What do they do with the money?		They want to lend it in order to get interest because they want to increase it *(ya sk'an smahanik yu'un ya'be ɣol yu'un sk'an tolin hilel)*
	92. How much money is there for the virgin?		Two hundred twenty-eight pesos
[624]	93. Who counts it?	Fiscal with two kobraria	The town treasurer, the síndico and secretary assisted the fiscal in the accounting of funds. The principales sat on the bench to observe proceedings
	94. How much money is there for San Pedro?	Forty pesos	
[624]	95. What do they do after they count the money?	Begins the *pat'ot'an* with the kobraria of Sacramento	The principales recite the *pa'o'tan* with the kobraria of Sacramento
[537]			
[273]	96. What do they do afterward?	They drink liquor	They drink liquor